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Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-12 /085 W
----------031379 250222Z /15
O 250139Z FEB 78
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9750
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK
SUBJ: LETTER TO AMBASSADOR YOUNG FROM PRESIDENT NYERERE

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF THE FEBRUARY 18
RESPONSE FROM PRESIDENT NYERERE TO MY LETTER IN WHICH I
EXPRESSED
GRATITUDE FOR THE ROLE THAT THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
PF PLAYED DURING THE RHODESIAN TALKS IN MALTA:

2. "DEAR MR. YOUNG, THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF 9TH
FEBRUARY. I AM PLEASED YOU FELT THAT THE PRESENCE OF THE
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FRONT LINE STATES FACILITATED
UNDERSTANDING AT THE MALTA CONFERENCE, AND THUS CONTRIBUTED
TO THE PROGRESS THERE. FOR MY PART I WAS ENCOURAGED BY
THE REPORTS FROM MALTA.

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3. "SINCE THEN, HOWEVER, WE HAVE HAD THIS REPORTED
'AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE' BETWEEN SMITH, BISHOP MUZOREWA,
REV. SITHOLE, AND CHIEF CHIRAU, AND THE REACTIONS FROM
LONDON AND WASHINGTON. LET ME SAY AT ONCE THAT I DO
UNDERSTAND THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH WILL BE CREATED FOR
THE BRITISH AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS BY POLITICAL PRES-
SURES MOUNTED ON THE BASIS OF THIS "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT."

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BUT I AM VERY CONCERNED INDEED THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE SAID OR DONE BY PRESIDENT CARTER'S ADMINISTRATION, OR BY THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, WHICH ENCOURAGES SMITH TO BELIEVE THAT HE IS DOING SOMETHING WHICH CAN LEAD TO RECOGNITION. FOR TWO THINGS SEEM TO ME TO BE VERY CLEAR.
4. "THE FIRST IS THAT THESE CURRENT INTERNAL NEGOTIATIONS ARE IN REALITY ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF IAN SMITH'S METHOD OF FIGHTING MAJORITY RULE. WHENEVER HE HAS BEEN UNDER GREAT MILITARY OR DIPLOMATIC PRESSURE HE HAS BEGUN NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOMEONE. IN THE PAST THESE DISCUSSIONS HAVE NEVER REACHED
ANY AGREEMENT AT ALL BECAUSE THE PRESSURE WAS NOT GREAT ENOUGH, OR SUSTAINED ENOUGH, TO FORCE SMITH INTO MAKING EVEN THE APPEARANCE OF SERIOUS CONCESSION. ON THIS OCCASION THE PRESSURES WERE GREATER AND HE HAS THEREFORE BEEN WILLING TO GO A LITTLE FURTHER, WHILE STILL - IT APPEARS FROM PRELIMINARY REPORTS - SAFEGUARDING THE REAL POWER BASES OF THE MINORITY AND ESPECIALLY HIS ARMED FORCES. BUT IF THE OUTSIDE WORLD SHOWS ITSELF
WILLING TO ACCEPT THE APPEARANCE RATHER THAN THE REALITY OF A TRANSFER OF POWER, AND IF IT IS SO CONCERNED TO APPEAR REASONABLE THAT IT REDUCES THE PRESSURES WHICH HAVE FORCED SMITH TO MOVE A LITTLE, THEN I AM CONVINCED THAT EVEN THIS "AGREEMENT" WILL NOT BE IMPLEMENTED. FOR I REPEAT: SMITH IS AN EXPERT AT FIGHTING FOR WHAT HE REGARDS AS 'CIVILISATION' AND BY WHICH HE MEANS THE CONFIDENTIAL

MAINTENANCE OF MINORITY POWER. THE NEGOTIATIONS - INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL - ARE PART OF THE STRUGGLE, BOTH TO HIM AND TO THE NATIONALISTS. FROM HIS "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" NEGOTIATIONS HE IS HOPING TO ACHIEVE THAT VICTORY OVER THE ANTI-RACIALIST AND ANTI-COLONIALIST FORCES OF THE WORLD WHICH HAS SO FAR ELUDED HIM. IT IS VITAL THAT HE SHOULD NOT BE ALLOWED TO SUCCEED BECAUSE OF A VERY NATURAL DESIRE - AND ONE WHICH I SHARE - TO GET AN END TO THE WAR.

5. "INDEED, AN "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" CANNOT BRING THE WAR TO AN END. FOR MY SECOND POINT IS THAT, AS YOU SAID WHEN FIRST HEARING ABOUT THIS 'AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE', IT IS JUST NOT POSSIBLE TO BRUSH ASIDE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AS IF IT DID NOT EXIST. EVEN IF SMITH WERE GENUINELY CONVERTED TO THE INEVITABILITY OF A TRANSFER OF POWER FROM THE MINORITY (WHICH I DO NOT BELIEVE), IT IS JUST NOT REALISTIC TO IGNORE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT DURING THE INEVITABLE INTERIM BEFORE THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE HAVE CHOSEN THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT. A CEASE FIRE IS NECESSARY IF ELECTIONS OR ANY OTHER INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS ARE TO BE POSSIBLE, AND A CEASE FIRE DEPENDS UPON THE AGREEMENT OF

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THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. I KNOW THAT THE PATRIOTIC FRONT
LEADERS ARE DIFFICULT TO NEGOTIATE WITH; BUT IT DOES SEEM
TO ME THAT PROGRESS WAS BEING MADE IN MALTA, AND THAT IT
WILL BE POSSIBLE TO GET AGREEMENT WITH THEM ON A CEASE
FIRE WITH AN INTERIM ADMINISTRATION WHICH REALLY PROVIDES
AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE TO CHOSE
THEIR OWN LEADERS. AND EXCEPT ON THE BASIS OF THE ANGLO-
AMERICAN PROPOSALS I CANNOT SEE HOW ANY SUCH OPPORTUNITY
IS GOING TO BE AVAILABLE TO THE ZIMBABWE PEOPLE. IT
THEREFORE SEEMS TO ME TO BE VITAL THAT THIS ANGLO-
AMERICAN ENDEAVOUR SHOULD CONTINUE, AND THAT THROUGH OUR
COMBINED EFFORTS A REAL TRANSFER OF POWER FROM THE MINORITY

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TO THE PEOPLE SHOULD BE WORKED OUT AND IMPLEMENTED. ONLY
BY SUCH A GENUINE TRANSFER OF POWER CAN THIS VEXED
RHODESIAN PROBLEM BE REMOVED FROM THE WORLD. PAPER
AGREEMENTS WHICH STOP SHORT OF THAT WILL ONLY MAKE THE
POSITION WORSE.

6. "WHAT I AM TRYING TO SAY AMOUNTS TO THIS. FIRST IT IS
ESSENTIAL THAT WE SHOULD ALL MAINTAIN OUR OPPOSITION TO
ANY SO-CALLED "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT". AND SECOND, THAT WE
SHOULD PURSUE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS - AND WITH
GREATER URGENCY. I AM MAKING MY CONVICTIONS ON THIS

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LATTER POINT CLEAR ONCE AGAIN TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT
LEADERS.

7. "FORGIVE ME FOR WRITING AT SUCH LENGTH IN REPLY TO
YOUR LETTER, AND ACCEPT MY PERSONAL GOOD WISHES. YOURS
SINCERELY, JULIUS K. NYERERE"
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8. TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE: PLEASE CONSIDER PASSING
THIS TO DAVID OWEN. YOUNG

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